/384 cont./

356 huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

• [514] Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire.
244 Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own
356 bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hayades's (f) :557 statement of his experience

/414 cont./

281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 29).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

> 103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their
863 earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q):343 confirms this conduct of the Yamana from his own observations: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

/426 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It 1854 is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim; even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

●514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

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185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [204] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed